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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY Senior Research Staff on International Communism

Survey of Western European and Japanese Research Activities on Eastern European Affairs and International Communism

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Survey of Western European and Japanese Research Activities on Soviet-Satellite Affairs and International Communism

The following survey is the result of information obtained during my recent trip through Western Europe and, in particular, from scholars and governmental observers participating in the Bad Aussee Conference on Sino-Soviet problems.

1. WEST GERMANY

The Bonn Government is investing an extraordinary amount of money and effort in Eastern European research. It is aware that, owing to recent developments in the Far East, more attention must be paid to Communist China and is now directing scholarly work into that area. In the Soviet and Communist fields, however, West German research efforts are unmatched in Europe and a fountainhead of information. Since academic institutions in Germany traditionally are state-supported, one may say that EE research work, wherever it is done, is also state-supported. From the account of institutional work below, it is clear that large sums are being expended for research purposes. The reason for this is, as Bonn officials and German specialists pointed out, that both government and universities firmly believe in the essential function of research for the formulation of policies and defense measures. They also realize that interpretations of Soviet-Communist actions in terms of 19th century power politics are no longer adequate, and therefore they are particularly anxious to explore the problems of Communist ideology in theory and practice which they believe to be the basis for bloc strategy and tactics.

Eastern problems are being dealt with in the following organizations:

a. Bonn Foreign Ministry

The Eastern Affairs Bureau, which was the first to be re-created when the West German Foreign Ministry started working again, has added to its organization an International Communism Division. Its head is Dr. Boris Meissner, a Soviet scholar of distinction before he joined the German foreign service and a former member of the OSTEUROPA group (see below, para. e.). He has recently returned from a two-year assignment to the German Embassy in Moscow and is now working in close collaboration with the various Eastern Research institutions and with Sovietologists and Sinologists throughout the Federal Republic.

b. East-West Study Group

This group constituted itself informally and unofficially a few months ago. It reputedly enjoys Chancellor
Adenauer's personal support. The Chancellor will seek funds
for its official establishment as a research institute. As soon
as these funds have been approved by Parliament, the group
will build up a major research center in Cologne, studying
chiefly problems of International Communism. The guiding
idea, submitted by Professor Otto Schiller who is a Sovietologist and Sinologist of note, is to study these problems not
only from the eastern, but also from the western standpoint.
The center would undertake comparative studies and also would
consider those aspects of Communism which have been rather
neglected, for example, sociology in the Communist bloc.

c. The Ost Kolleg

Another recent creation, the Ost Kolleg (roughly translated Eastern College) is under the sponsorship of the Bonn Ministry of the Interior. It is not a research institute but a high level study center. Students are mature men and women from all the professional fields, such as doctors,

lawyers, government officials, teachers, officers, etc. Meeting groups of thirty to forty in a house situated in Cologne, they are cloistered for one week to concentrate on the complex matter of their curriculum. The most important aspects of Soviet history, politics and government. economy and ideology are considered in lectures and discussions. Since professors and students live and eat in this house, the utility of the course exceeds the actual lecture program. The Ost Kolleg is managed by a board of ten outstanding scholars, one of whom is the chairman of the institution. This chairmanship rotates each year, while the direction of individual (weekly) courses rotates each week. Lecturers are recruited from universities, research institutions, and government. They change for every course. The work continues forty weeks a year, that is, there are forty consecutive courses. The cumulative effect of such instruction cannot help but bear fruit. In time, the entire West German intelligentsia will have been exposed to a correct basic picture of the implications of Soviet power. Occasionally, there are specialized courses concentrating on Middle Eastern and Far Eastern problems, but never without Soviet references.

d. University Institutes for Eastern European Research

The largest of these institutes is at the Free University of West Berlin under Professor Thalheim. Connected with it is the Berlin Institute of Political Science, which covers the entire range of the EE area, stressing the USSR and Eastern Germany. Almost as large is the EE Institute at the University of Munich, directed by Professor Hans Koch. It is mainly concerned with the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Southeast European satellites are taken care of in a Southeastern European Institute. (Also connected with the University of Munich is an Academy of Political Science which deals with certain aspects of the EE question). The Munich institute publishes a journal for East-

ern European Research (Zeitschrift fuer Osteuropakunde) and plans the following publications: a dictionary of quotations from Marx to Khrushchev, a Soviet terminological dictionary, and six volumes of depositions from former German prisoners of war in the USSR.

Three other institutes which enjoy a fine reputation are those connected with the Universities of Tuebingen, Giessen, and Marburg. Tuebingen has, in fact, two: Institut fuer Osteuropaeische Geschichte und Landeskunde (roughly, Institute for Eastern European History and Geography) and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Osteuropakunde (roughly, Study Group for Eastern European Research). Marburg has the Herder Institut which is particularly concerned with the affairs of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Baltic countries. All these institutions publish their own periodicals or handbooks.

e. <u>Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Osteuropakunde</u> (German Society for Eastern European Research).

This incorporated society, whose ancestor antedates World War II, is a private research organization. making use of all scholars in the field. Situated in Stuttgart, it is directed by Dr. Klaus Mehnert, and is obviously supported by Federal funds. It publishes four learned magazines: Osteuropa (Eastern Europe), now twelve years old; Osteuropa-Recht (Eastern Europe - Law); Osteuropa -Wirtschaft (Eastern Europe - Economy); and Osteuropa-Naturwissenschaft (Eastern Europe - Science). Apart from these scholarly contributions to the field, Osteuropa, mainly through the initiative of Mehnert, has been promoting and stimulating study of Sino-Soviet problems very vigorously and almost certainly must be credited with having initiated many of the projects now in progress. The society also has sponsored or promoted international meetings (Muenstereifel, in 1956, and Bad Aussee, 1958).

Furthermore, there are a number of less specialized but still pertinent study centers, such as the Berlin Institute for International Law (Max Planck Institut); the Kiel Institute for World Economy, which is notable for its specialized library on Eastern economic matters, and the University of Hamburg, which publishes the Journal of International Law and Diplomacy in four languages.

This brief and probably not complete survey demonstrates that EE research in West German academies is highly imstitutionalized. In contrast to Great Britain's individualized approach, the Germans appear to concentrate their experts in a network of organizations where intellectual cross-fertilization almost certainly contributes to elevate the standard of research.

2. AUSTRIA

Eastern European research was conducted until recently in the university institutes of Vienna, Graz, and Innsbruck. Predominantly, courses of lectures and research activities were offered on philology, geography, history and culture. Current political issues were not in the curriculum. There also existed private research groups, such as the Danube-European Institute and the Research Institute, publishing journals on EE economy, law, geography, and culture.

All these activities were more or less academic and of little use to the Austrian government. After the re-establishment of Austria's independence, it was decided that research in current Eastern affairs was essential. However, great caution had to be taken in approaching and guiding research activities, because Austria's neutrality had become the official line of its policies, and government-sponsored research had to avoid the possible accusation by the Eastern bloc of violating neutrality in publishing conclusions unfavorable to the East. On the other hand, it was recognized that

Austrian relations with Eastern countries are of great importance politically and economically and that knowledge of the East must be disseminated in order to cope with future requirements in those fields.

As a result, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ost (roughly, Study Group East) was established, significantly not under the Foreign Office, but under the Ministry of Education. It was conceived as a roof organization for all Eastern research in Austria, more or less controlling activities in the field throughout the country. The AO is supervised by a committee of government officials, and the President is Ministerial Councilor Dr. Alfred Weikert, right-hand man of the Minister of Education, Dr. Drimmel. The first major undertaking of the AO was its sponsorship of the international conference at Bad Aussee; however, its lack of experience and its determination to remain neutral during the conference were demonstrated by the fact that the driving force was the German Osteuropa group of Stuttgart which furnished the chairman and manager of the meeting, Dr. Klaus Mehnert. The Austrian officials stayed on the sidelines and were content with performing ceremonial and fiscal functions.

It remains to be seen to what extent the AO will be guided - or impeded - by the government's determination to remain neutral even in academic matters. The organization is hardly more than two years old, and judgment of its activities must be reserved for a later time.

3. GREAT BRITAIN

Sino-Soviet research in Britain is not institutionalized. Where it flowers, it is produced by individual scholars. There is no organization channelling and coordinating research activities. There are only certain academic centers where some outstanding experts happen to teach or do research, for example in London, Oxford, Birmingham and Glasgow.

The University of London's Slavonic School is chiefly concerned with Slavic languages and the history and geography of Eastern Europe. The same University's School of Economics and Political Science, which has concerned itself with all the social sciences, is far more involved in current aspects of the Soviet problem. It is staffed with some outstanding scholars in the fields of Eastern European politics, government, and economics. In Oxford, there are congregated in St. Antony's College a number of excellent scholars in the fields of both the USSR and Communist China, for example, the historian Seton-Watson, the Far Eastern scholar Hudson, and the expert on Communism, Carew-Hunt. But the research activities remain a matter of individual enterprise and proceed without coordinated planning. There also exists the Central Asian Research Center, collaborating with St. Antony's. Both the College and the Center publish excellent journals.

Research at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), mainly for governmental purposes, is not geared to any of the study groups, although it makes use of expert opinions. Small groups studying the Eastern European area exist at the Universities of Birmingham and Glasgow, but the research is based on the interests and activities of individual scholars.

4. FRANCE

Specialized institutes for Eastern European studies existed prior to World War I at the Sorbonne (University of Paris), the Institute of Slavic Studies, the National School of Eastern Languages, and the Library of the Slavic World. After World War II, there was created the Centre d'études russes de la Fondation des Science politiques (Center of Russian Studies of the Foundation for Political Science), dealing mainly with political questions of Eastern Europe; l'Institut d'étude de l'économie soviétique at de l'économie

planifiée (Institute of Studies of the Soviet and Planning Economy) which, as its title says, has busied itself chiefly with problems of Soviet economic planning and has issued some publications on this subject (1950-1953); Centre des Relations Internationales de la Fondation des Sciences politiques (International Relations Center of the Foundation for Political Science) whose section "Eastern Europe" is studying the USSR; and the section of "Russian Studies" is attached to the Ecole pratique des Hautes Études. Primarily economic problems are studied in the Institute of Applied Economic Science.

Outside the Sorbonne, there is the Association d'études et d'informations politiques internationales (Association of International Political Studies and Information) which is directed by Boris Souvarine, presumably a private enterprise supported by White Russians and their sympathizers. The work of this group is slanted, and it cannot be regarded as an objective research organization. Far more important is the Direction de la Documentation française. This institution acts as a library and archive and works in conjunction with the General Secretariat of the Foreign Ministry, the Finance Ministry, and the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies. Although not specifically referring to Eastern Europe in its name, the Direction does undertake Soviet research and publishes the monthly journal URSS. Souvarine's organization publishes the well-known EAST & OUEST review.

5. <u>JAPAN</u>

Before the war there were some societies attempting to study Soviet problems but, according to the Japanese delegates to the Bad Aussee Conference, their work remained inconspicuous. After the war, a new interest in Soviet problems stimulated the establishment of organizations to study them. Prompted by the conference of Sovietologists in Muenstereifel, Germany, in 1956, the Japan Institute was established, and it is concerned with problems of the entire Sino-Soviet bloc and

International Communism. Another even newer institution, the Institute of Soviet Scholars, was created by former Ambassador Amau and publishes its own magazine. Membership is now seventy; new members must be introduced by two older members. (It appears that this Institute is eager to play a role in international Sovietology and is trying to convoke a conference in Tokyo in the Fall of 1959).

Some research is being done by the Association of Japanese Industrialists, but its direction and extent are not clear.

There are two organizations whose research is politically slanted: the Society for the Study of Soviet Problems is allegedly leftist or even Communist-oriented; the Continental Problems Research Institute is purported to be strongly rightist. Nothing is known about the work of these organizations. However, the impression one gathers in surveying Sino-Soviet research activities in Japan is one of growing interest in this field, probably spurred by the achievements in Sovietology mainly in the US and West Germany.

6. SWEDEN

As a neutral state, Sweden has approached Soviet research with caution. Nevertheless, there seems to be a lively interest in such aspects as Soviet agriculture and population, and the activities of CEMA. There is a specific interest in studying the iron ore situation in the bloc. The Swedish government does not seem to have undertaken the sponsoring of such research; at this time, the Iron and Steel Federation is backing whatever work is being done. Since the Federation collaborates with the Swedish Foreign Office, the results of research will be chanelled to the right persons. However, it is possible, as the Swedish observer at the Bad Aussee conference stated, that more official research will be organ-

ized; the information obtained at Bad Aussee was regarded by the observer as helping his efforts in the preparation of more intensified and better organized work.

ANNEX:

Sample Curricula of the

OST KOLLEG

Ost - Kolleg of the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst

Program of the 17th Study Conference from 20 to 27 November 1958

Chairman: Dr. Gertler

Day	y Time Speaker		Subject			
20 Nov	16:00	Arrival				
	18:00	Dr. Gertler,	Opening Statement			
	20:00	Prof. Lieber,	Communist Party,			
		Berlin	State, Society			
21	9:00	H ···	Dialectical and His- torical Materialism I			
	11:00	11.	" II			
	15:30	Prof. Markert, Tübingen	Outline of Russian and Soviet History I			
	17:00	11	" II			
	20:00	Dr. Lakebrink, Köln	Dialectic thinking and war			
22	9:00	Prof. Markert	Outline of Russian and Soviet History III			
	11:00	ft	11 IV			
	15:30	Dr. Fetscher, Tübingen	Dialectical and His- torical Materialism III			
	17:00	11	" IV			
	20:00	Film				
23	20:00	Prof. Thalheim,	Economic System I			
		Berlin				
24	9:00	11	" II			
	11:00	Ħ	" III			
	15:30	11	" IV			
	17:00	-	Satellite system:			
		Bonn	Sov. Zone of Germany			
	20:00	Free				

Day	Time	Speaker	Subject
25 Nov	9:00	Prof. von Mende Düsseldorf	, Party, State, Society II
	11:00	II Dusseldoll	H III
	15:30	Dr. Boris Meiss	ner, Soviet Theory
		Bonn	of the State
	17:00	Ħ	Soviet Communism
			and Reform Commun-
			ism
	20:00	Discussion	(voluntary)
26	9:00	Prof. Moebus,	Soviet Pedagogy I
	11:00	Koblenz	n II
	15:30	Prof. Hellmann,	Transformation of
		Munster	History in the Satel-
			lites
	17:00	11	n II
	20:00	Informal lec-	Situation of Interna-
		tures by Prof.	tional Communism
		Möbus, Prof.	
		Hellmann, Dr.	
		Wildenmann,	
27	9:00	Prof. Mobus,	Soviet Pedagogy III
	10:00	Koblenz	" IV
	12:00	Final discussion	- ·
	14:00	Departure	

Ost - Kolleg of the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst

Program of the 19th Study Conference from 7 to 13 December 1958

Chairman: Dr. Striedter

Day	Time	Speaker	Subject
	14.00	Arrival	
7 Dec	16:00	Dr. Striedter,	Opening statement
	18:00		Opening statement
		Berlin	Soviet economic system
	20:00	Prof. Raupach,	T
		Wilhelmshaven	_
8	9:00	H	7.1
	11:00	Dr. Boettcher,	Marxist ideology and
		Hamburg	planned economy
	15:30	11	11
	17:00	Dr. Siehlow,	Methods of Commu-
		Dortmund	nist infiltration
	20:00	Dr. Striedter,	Soviet intellectual
		Berlin	history
9	9:00	Prof. Philipp,	Outline of Russian and
	, , , ,	Berlin	Soviet history I
	11:00	11	" II
	15:30	Prof. Maurach,	Party, state, society
	13.50	Mühchen	•
	17:00	11	" II
	20:00	Film	(voluntary)
10	9:00	Prof. Philipp	Outline of Russian and
10	7.00	I TOTA I THEFT	Soviet history III
	11:00	F 1	" IV
		H	" V
	15:30	TE II Theil	Satellite system
	17:00	K.H.Theil, Düsseldorf	Datetitee By Deciti
	20:00	${ t Free}$	

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Day	Time	Speaker	Subject			
11 Dec	9:00	Dr. Wildenmann	Party, state, society			
	11:00	† !	" IV			
	15:30	Prof. Lieber, Berlin	Historical and dialectical materialism			
	17:00	H	" II			
	20:00	Discussion	(voluntary)			
12	9:00	Prof. Lieber	Historical and dialec-			
			tical materialism III			
	11:00	11	" IV			
	15:30	Informal lec-	Political-scientific			
		tures by Lieber,	analysis of present			
		Achminow,	controversy with			
		Salter	International Communism			
13	9:00	Dr. Lakebrink, Köln	Values of the Western World			
	10:00	11	" II			
	12:00	Free discussion				
	14:00	Departure				

Ost - Kolleg of the
Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst
Köln - Lindenthal

Program of the 20th Study Conference from 14 to 20 December 1958

Chairman: Dr. Wildenmann

Day	Time	Speaker	Topic
14 Dec	16:00 18:00 20:00	Arrival Dr. Wildenmann, Prof. Schiller, Hohenheim	Opening statement Introduction to the Problems of the under-
15	9:00 :	Dr. Gurland, Düsseldorf	developed countries The consequences of the European Colonial Policy I
	10:00	H _.	" II
	11:00 to 13:00	Discussion	
	15:30 to	Prof. Schiller	The Situation of India
	16:15		
	16:30 to	11	ii II
	17:15 17:30	D' '	
	20:00	Discussion	
16	9:00 10:00	Prof. Thalheim, Berlin	Economic policy of the USSR
	11:00 to	Discussion	ı, II
	13:00	Discussion	
	15:30 to	Dr. Brdker,	The foreign trade of
	16: 15	Köln	the Soviet Union 7
	16:30 to	17	" II
	17:15		202
	17:30 to	Discussion	
	19:00		
	20:00	11	

Day	Time	Speaker	Topic
17 Dec	0.00 +0	D. Vlott	Conict companie compa
17 Dec	9:00 to 10:00	Dr. Klatt, London	Soviet economic expan-
	10:00	London	sion, land reform and collectivization in China
	10.15 40	F I	collectivization in China
	10:15 to 11:15		
		Discussion	
	11:30 to	Discussion	
	13:00	TO 721 - 3.6 1	
	15:30 to	Dr. Klaus Meh	The Situation in the
	16:15	nert, Stuttgart	Far East
	16:30 to	14	ii II
	17:15	-	
	17:30 to	Discussion	•
	19:00		
1.0	20:00	Free	
18	9:00 to	Dr. Fernau,	The contemporary
	10:00	Zurich	world of the Islam I
	10:15tto	n _e	ii II
	11:15		
	11:30 to	Discussion	
	13:00		
	15:30 to	Dr. Anthon,	The Situation in the
	16:15	Mehlem	Near East I
	16:30 to	u · ;	ii II
	17:15		
	17:30	Discussion and	
	20:00	films	
19	9:00 to	Dr. Klatt,	The applicability of
	10:00	London	the Soviet model to
			$\verb"under-developed"$
			countries
	10:05 to	Prof. v. Mende,	Soviet measures for
	12:00	Düsseldorf	$intellectual\ influence$
			on the under-developed
			countries

Day	Time	Speaker	Topic
19 Dec	12:15 to 13:00	Discussion	
	15:30 to 19:00	11	
	20:00	H	
20 Dec	9:00	Prof. Bergstraes ser, Freiburg	-Problems and responsibility of the Occident in a revolutionary world
	10:00	11	ki II
	12:00	Final discussion	

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